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SOME RESEMBLANCES
BETWEEN
THE RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL IDEAS OF MODERN
SAVAGE PEOPLES
AND THOSE OF
THE PRE-HISTORIC NON-CELTIC RACES OF
EUROPE.

BY THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A.

(Read at the Newcastle Congress, July 1901.)¹



THE title of this Paper is somewhat long, because, out of the whole vast subject covered by the ideas "Magic" and "Religion," I only wish to touch upon a small area; the extent of which area could not be expressed in any shorter form of words that I could devise, viz., the resemblances that may be found between certain ideas on the subjects of "Religion" and "Magic," which are still in full force among savages to-day, and those which, from their remains, may be adjudged to have been held by the prehistoric non-Celtic races of Europe.

Anthropology, the youngest of the organized sciences, is still to a considerable extent in a state of flux; and students are very much divided as to what is proved and what is *sub judice* in the investigation of the ideas of primitive man. This is especially true in the sphere covered by this Paper, and the question whether the idea

¹ This Paper is printed out of the ordinary course, as it is in substance throughout, and particularly in the "Appendix," my reply to a Paper in *The Reliquary* for April 1901, entitled "Is the Dumbuck Crannog Neolithic?", by Dr. Robert Munro, F.R.S.E.

of "a high god" or of "high gods" is to be found among low savages is once more being hotly debated. On the whole, I am inclined to think that those who, on very strong evidence, hold that such an idea does exist, will eventually carry the day against the school represented by Mr. Tylor and his followers. Some evidence on this subject will be adduced, in the course of the following pages, from the statements of recent travellers, and others who have been associated with savages.

However, amid much that is uncertain, one sure canon may be found in the statement that man's mental development—and this includes his moral and spiritual progress—has travelled along certain lines which are constant, and that therefore at each stage of that development certain definite marks and characteristics may be looked for; and, conversely, that where those marks are found, that particular stage of culture, progress, or development may be predicated.

For example, it is generally conceded that the Tasmanian aboriginal, now extinct, represented almost the lowest type of man conceivable; that is to say, therefore, the earliest; and we are accordingly not surprised to find that the weapons and mode of life of the Tasmanian corresponded in a remarkable degree with those of the Palæolithic peoples of Europe. His weapons¹ were of rudely-worked flints, or other convenient stone; he lived in caves, and was before all things a hunter, a fisherman: not a keeper of flocks and herds or a tiller of the soil.

In many respects, indeed, Palæolithic man in Europe was more advanced than the Tasmanian. Physically, he was a far finer man; and, to judge from his personal ornaments and his artistic abilities, he was considerably more intellectually endowed. The Tasmanian, through the isolation of thousands of years, had no doubt not even remained stationary at a stage long since attained, but had degenerated from it; still, if the phrase may be

¹ The stone implements of some modern savages are quite as rude (as those of the Drift or river gravel), and some even ruder, as, *e.g.*, those of the Tasmanians, which were only flaked on one side, and were held in the hand; never fixed in any handle.—H. Ling Roth, *The Tasmanians*, pp. 156-8.

allowed, on a rough generalisation, it is absolutely correct to say that he represented, down to modern times, the Palæolithic stage of culture.

The Esquimaux, the Digger Indians, and the Bushmen of South Africa are in very much the same stage still, or were, until the European wave engulfed them; and the Esquimaux, as is well known, exhibit a marked similarity in their artistic tastes: drawing, with remarkable skill, the seal, the walrus, and the polar bear, with which they are familiar, as the Palæolithic hunter sketched the reindeer, the horse, and the mammoth which he knew so well.

But, so far, the similarities are merely external. Palæolithic man, to judge by the evidence available, had no religion,¹ although, like the Tasmanians and the Esquimaux, and others, he may have had some vague notion of a kind of spirit world, in which dwelt the ghosts of his departed ancestors. But he neither worshipped nor cajoled. There was neither magic nor religion.²

It is when we come to the next stage that we first see signs of both; the former leading up to and running into the latter. This stage is described as the Neolithic, from the character of its implements, weapons, etc., and it represents in Europe the prehistoric non-Celtic population of Ugrian or Iberian stock, represented to-day by the Basques at one extremity of the Continent, and the Finns at the other; and, in our own country, by the Silures in South Wales (who were the remnant of the former Neolithic population, which had fled westward before the Celts, as, later, the Romanised Celts fled before the Saxons), and by the Picts in Scotland. In each case the blood of the conquerors was mingled with that of the conquered: in that of the Picts, Goidelic; in that of the Silures, in the first instance also Goidelic, though in later days they adopted the Brythonic tongue from, and intermarried with, their neighbours, the Ordovices, of North Wales.³

¹ See, however, Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 15.

² A recent correspondence in *The Times*, however, points to possible traces of totemism and phallic worship even in the Palæolithic Age in Europe.

³ The whole question of the racial affinities of the Neolithic people



A multitude of affinities may be found between this prehistoric Neolithic population of Europe, and modern savage peoples in all parts of the world ; but it is to the region of magic and religion that we wish to confine ourselves now. The outward development has not followed the same lines : the Neolithic Age in Europe gave way to the Bronze, and that again to the Iron ; whereas, in Africa, for example, the Age of Stone has, in the case of many tribes, passed into that of Iron without a break. But the mental and spiritual development is constant ; and by a comparison of the present ideas of savage tribes, where they have been untouched by European civilisation, with the relics of the Neolithic population of Europe, we find our canon absolutely correct ; the resemblances are striking but not unexpected, and it becomes possible and perfectly legitimate to argue from one to the other ; *i.e.*, from the ideas of modern savage tribes we derive the understanding of the meaning of their charms, amulets, idols (where existing), rock-drawings, etc. ; and are at the same time enabled to grasp the meaning of all such things which remain to us as the legacy of our Neolithic ancestors.

If we study the account which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have given us of the *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, a congeries of groups of families, hardly worthy of being designated by the name of *tribes*, still in the

of Europe and of our Islands, has been recently most ably considered by Prof. Rhys in his book on *The Welsh People*, pp. 1-35 ; and the argument is developed from the linguistic point of view by Mr. J. Morris Jones, in Appendix B of that book.

The conclusion arrived at is that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain in Britain down to historic times ; and that they, together with those of the Neolithic population who were absorbed by the Goidelic invaders, belonged to the great Berber race, which travelled westwards along the shores of North Africa and through southern and central Europe, and were finally driven to the extreme west in Brittany and the British Isles. Their line of march is everywhere marked by the megalithic monuments, menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, stone circles, and avenues which have been the wonder and admiration of all succeeding races. The subject is well worth study, and I confidently ask the student to consult Prof. Rhys's book. While on this subject I may also recommend the concluding chapter of Dr. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland* ; with which, as modified by Prof. Rhys's more recent research, I am happy to be in agreement.

Neolithic stage, and that at a low point; or the account given us by the late lamented Miss Mary Kingsley of the West African nations, peoples relatively more advanced, but still, where untouched by contact with European traders or missionaries, in an early stage of mental development characteristic of the Neolithic Age, though they have many of them actually passed into the Iron Age; or the accounts given us by earlier travellers of the manners and customs, and the ideas, magical and religious, which these evince, of other races in widely distant parts of the earth, in Central Asia, Siberia, North and South America, and the islands of the South Seas, including New Guinea, what do we find? We find this: that, amid a vast variety of customs, and many grades of development, dependent on environment, intercourse with other peoples, or isolation, and differences of family, social and tribal arrangements, arising from the circumstance whether the particular race is still in the stage of animism, or has passed on to totemism or fetishism, there is a common groundwork of ideas which cannot be mistaken.

This common groundwork is, (1) in the earliest stage of all, when man for the first time grasps the notion that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in his philosophy," the thought that all nature shares a common life, and that all things, rocks and stones, trees and plants, birds and beasts and men, are interchangeable the one with the other, under certain conditions.¹

A survival of this early mythologic idea may be observed even to classical times in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²

(2) Then, secondly, arises the notion that the earth, sea, and sky are inhabited by myriads of spirits, the animating

¹ What strikes a European observer (of West African fetishism) is the lack of gaps between things. To the African there is perhaps no gap between the conception of spirit and matter, animate or inanimate. It is all an affair of grade, not of essential difference of essence.—Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 109; see also *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 124, 517, etc.

² This is the phase of primitive thought, prevalent among prehistoric and modern savage people, to which Dr. Tylor gives the appropriate name of "Animism." It may be described as "the distinctive philosophy of primitive culture."—Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, caps. xi-xvii.

principle of each several object, and, following from that, the idea that these spirits can assume at will any form they happen to choose.

Whence arose this idea of a spirit-world, lying invisible behind the world of outward phenomena, and capable of taking form and substance as each spirit willed, and interchanging at will;¹ and the further idea of a spirit-part in man, pre-existing, transmigrating, and continuing its existence after death, we cannot say;² but most probably the *dream* theory is the one most consonant with facts.

(3) Thirdly, following on this again, at the next stage we arrive at the idea of a spirit-world transcending man, peopled with good and bad spirits, the former capable of being propitiated, the latter capable of being circumvented; and as a still later development, the idea of a great spirit at the head of all, the ruler of all the lesser spirits, good and bad, and of man.³

Few modern savage peoples have arrived at this latest stage in the development of the spiritual idea; though even among the Australians there are traces of it to be discovered in *Byamee* or *Durumulan*, the all-seeing Spirit; and the Red Indians had their "Great Spirit," *Oki* or *Kiehtan*, the great Manitou, and the West Africans their *Anzambi* or *Nyambi*, the Creator, who has retired from all active interest in the world. But it is doubtful whether this stage was ever attained by Neolithic man in Europe.

The propitiation of the good spirits, or Spirit, we call

¹ "One of the fundamental doctrines of Fetish is that the connection of a certain spirit with a certain mass of matter—a material object—is not permanent." "In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great powerful spirit-world all around him." Connected with this is something that looks like ancestor-worship, and fear of the ancestor's ghost, who will injure you by his "touch;" but this "touching" propensity arises not from malevolence, but from loneliness and a desire for company. "A great chief's spirit is a thoroughly useful thing for a village to keep going."—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112, 113; cf. *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 447, 448.

² Cf. *Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 128-166.

³ Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-114 *et seq.*, and *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 429-547; Langloh Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, 1st and 2nd Series; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, *passim*.

religion, the circumvention of the bad we call *magic*; and seeing that the evil spirits are close by, ever active, on the alert, malevolent and powerful, while the good spirits are weak or careless, the study of man's early ideas on the subject of religion resolves itself for the most part into a study of magic. It became far more important, from a practical point of view, to know how to avert by spells and magical rites the influence of the bad spirits over your person, your family, your crops, your various possessions, than to invoke the assistance of the good.

Hence the origin of witchcraft, and the power and status of the witch-doctor, medicine-man, or wizard.¹ His is the knowledge which no others in the tribe possess, and which is jealously guarded, and only passed on from one to another by painful initiatory rites, by means of which the novice is made free of the guild, and succeeds to the power possessed by his predecessors.

All the world over, in every race that we know of in prehistoric and historic times, religion passed through the stage of magic, which we still find, in larger or smaller degree, among modern savage peoples, before it finally

¹ A distinction must be drawn here. Witchcraft is of two sorts: (1) That potent power possessed by certain persons under the influence of evil spirits, by which they "bewitch" you, and cause all sorts of evil things—disease, calamity, loss of various kinds—to befall you; which power constitutes them "witches." (2) That spoken of in the text, and which belongs to the "priesthood" (for "doctor" and "parson" are combined among savages), by which the "witch's" spells are averted, and the diseases, calamity, etc., provoked by those spells, which set in motion the agency of the evil spirits, are cured or conquered, and the evil spirits themselves overcome. In West Africa, witchcraft No. 1 is hated—a witch is torn to bits; but this is only the surging up of hatred arising from terror. The mere keeping of a familiar power is not held vile in West Africa. Everyone does it. There is not a man, woman, or child, who has not several attached spirits for help and preservation from danger and disease. It is keeping a spirit for bad purposes only that is hateful; and the business of the Fetish Man is to guard the community from being bewitched.—Kingsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 142.

In Australia the principal function of the Medicine Man or Wizard (besides the curing of disease) is to find out who has caused the death of any individual; for it is supposed that no one can die unless he has been bewitched. The idea of natural death is inconceivable.—*Spencer and Gillen*, pp. 522 *seq.*

emerged into the higher spiritual form which it has assumed among the more cultivated races of mankind.

The best explanation of the ancient Egyptian animal-worship is that it was a survival of totemism and savagery; and it was carried so far that beasts actually figure in the genealogies of the kings as their progenitors.

The religion of the Central Australian natives is totemistic, in many respects peculiar and elaborate; though resembling to a large extent, and in its essential principles, that of the American Indians and other totemistic races. It enters into all their social arrangements, which are remarkably complex and difficult to unravel, and which must be the result of long ancestral tradition. This is especially true of the Arunta tribe.

The religion of the West African tribes, described by Miss Kingsley, is pure "fetish."¹ But all alike have developed a complicated system of "magic," consisting in the use of charms, amulets, incantations, and various ritual observances.²

In saying this I do not imply agreement with Mr. Frazer's theory (*Golden Bough*, vol. i, pp. 77-79), that "religion is the despair of magic," i.e., that men imagined a god or gods to be propitiated with sacrifice and worshipped because magic failed. I look upon it rather as the result of contact with higher phenomena of nature than magic could touch, and as the outcome of the evolution of ideas in the higher races.

Besides, we must not forget that the results of the most recent investigations teach us, as already explained, that even the lowest races have attained so much of religion as is implied by the idea of a "Great Spirit," who is, however, too far removed even for worship, but who permits magic to have a useful effect in controlling the malignancy of the evil powers to whom nature is in bondage.

The late Prof. Robertson Smith, in his *Religion of the Semites*, showed how the Semitic peoples passed through

¹ The Ashantees are totemistic.—Bowditch, *Mission to Ashantee*, 1873, pp. 180, 181.

² Spencer and Gillen, *passim*; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 250 Kingsley, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the very same stages, and how the idea of the community and interchangeability of life between man and natural objects, or the god supposed to be represented by a natural object, and to dwell therein, one of the earliest of religious ideas, lingered, for example, in the mind of Jacob when he set up the monolith as the abode of the god of Bethel, and anointed it, and called upon Yahwé. And when, later, the religion of Israel had developed into monolatry, before it could yet be called monotheistic, drastic measures were needed to root out the remains of witchcraft from among the people. How difficult this was may be seen in the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor, and in the denunciations of the prophets against the "wizards that peep and that mutter." In an earlier part, also, of the history of Saul we find him "bewitched," and David playing the part of the "medicine-man." (1 Sam. xvi, 23.)

It remains for me to endeavour to prove that what has been said as to modern savage peoples, and as to the development of the religious idea, whether taking the form of totemism or fetishism, through the stage of magic, is true of the prehistoric, *i.e.*, the Neolithic, people of Europe, and of our own islands. In this latter case we take "pre-historic" to mean "pre-Roman" and "non-Celtic," though not here at a very remote period, nor *always* non-Celtic; for, as a matter of fact, in Britain the Neolithic inhabitants seem to have passed on their mode of thought, to a very large extent, to their Celtic—that is to say, to their Goidelic—conquerors and successors. In the course of our argument we shall also prove that certain implements and amulets, weapons and figurines, and rock-drawings, about which there has been much discussion, and which are confidently pronounced to be forgeries in certain learned quarters, are not by any means unusual—were, indeed, to be expected—are in all probability genuine; and that, as genuine, they are most interesting relics of a stage of culture for which a place *can* be very easily and naturally found in the civilisation of our islands; while, should they after all ever be *proved* to be not genuine—and the *onus probandi* lies upon their detractors—the line of argument adopted in this Paper

is not thereby in the smallest degree invalidated : it only possesses one proof the less ; one link in the chain of evidence is removed, but the chain can be made complete without that link.

First of all, let us take the subject of rock-drawings :¹ I give as the *frontispiece* to this Paper illustrations of a series of rock-drawings from Central Australia, compared with those discovered in the year 1895 in the neighbourhood of Dumbaie, on the Clyde.²

The subject of "cup-and-ring" marking on rocks (and on objects of use) is a very old puzzle ; thirty years ago Sir Jas. Simpson (*Ancient Sculpturing of Cups, Circles, &c.*) said : "They are archæological enigmas ;" but whereas others threw out all kinds of wild guesses, he made the luminous suggestion that they were in the first instance "decorative," but added that they were also "emblems or symbols, connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those who carved them." Time has proved this idea correct ; and by means of the native Australian the problem may be considered solved.

¹ This subject is completely ignored by Dr. Munro in his Paper in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, notwithstanding that it was distinctly advanced by me in the Paper therein criticised, and further developed in Appendix D. In *Prehistoric Scotland*, however, Dr. Munro discusses the subject of "rock-drawings," under the heading of "Art of the Bronze Age," pp. 216-225, and gives numerous illustrations. On the other hand, in *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, Dr. Munro says, in describing articles of the Neolithic Age : "Among domestic utensils, in addition to pottery, are small cups and boxes made of horn." He gives illustrations of two of these (fig. 185, Nos. 12 and 18), and in each instance they are ornamented with cup-and-ring-marks ! In assigning the "rock-drawings" to the Bronze Age I am convinced he is mistaken, though the "cup-and-ring" symbol *survived* on weapons and other objects down to that Age. For example, they may be seen on many bronze spear-heads (see Geo. Stephens' *Handbook to Runic Monuments*, pp. 204, 205), and are to be found even on Roman altars, as on that at High Rochester, dedicated to Minerva, by Lucius Cæcilius Optatus. Lord Avebury is more correct in assigning these symbols, particularly when drawn on rocks or megalithic monuments, to the Neolithic Age (*Prehistoric Times*, 6th edit., revised, pp. 158, 159), or, as I prefer to say, to include the Australians and other modern races, they are to be assigned to peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture.

² Illustrations of the rock-drawings at Auchintorlie and Cochno (from which these are taken), and sketched on the spot, will be found in Mr. Bruce's *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 320 and 324.

These rock-drawings are found all over the world, but in Australia alone have they a living significance to-day. Here in your own Northumberland you may find them. "On that moor of the Cheviot Hills which is near Chatton Park you may notice," says Mr. Lang, "engraved on the boulders, central cup-like depressions, surrounded by incised concentric circles.¹ In our own country they are found, not only on scalps of rock, but on the stones of "Druid Circles," from Inverness-shire to Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man. They also occur on great stones arranged in avenues; on cromlechs; on the stones of chambered *tumuli* in Yorkshire;² on stone 'kists' or coffins in Scotland, Ireland, and in Dorset; on prehistoric obelisks, or solitary 'standing-stones' in Argyle; on walls in underground Picts' houses in the Orkneys and Forfarshire; in prehistoric Scottish forts; near old camps; as well as on isolated rocks, scalps, and stones. Analogous double spirals occur at New Grange, in Ireland, at the entrance of the great gallery leading to the domed chamber; in Scandinavia; in Asia Minor; in China and Zululand, in Australia, India, America, North and South, and in Fiji."³

Among the most notable are those at Gavv Innis, in Brittany, which are undoubtedly the work of a Neolithic people. These are not mentioned in Mr. Lang's exhaustive enumeration, but are similar to, though more elaborate than, those at New Grange. They consist of spirals, serpentine markings, and figures of hammers, axes, and other tools and weapons.

There are rock-drawings in South America which pre-

¹ "At Rowting Linn, Old Bewick, Morwick, and elsewhere, we find those mysterious cups and rings that were first prominently brought into notice by the late Mr. Geo. Tate, and as to the origin and significance of which it were still folly to be wise."—*Bate's History of Northumberland*, p. 6 (1895).

² Some of the finest in our country are to be seen near Ilkley, in Yorkshire—dozens of them.

³ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, 241, 242. The preceding passage is from Mr. Lang's article on "Cup-and-Ring: an Old Problem Solved," in the above book, which has just been published. It originally appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, and was written almost at the same time as my article referred to below. We worked independently the one of the other, and each arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Lang's book only came into my hands *after* this Paper was written, and I had not previously seen his "Cup-and-Ring" article.

sent precisely the same features, viz., the cup-and-ring-markings, circles, etc., as those from Australia and at Cochno and Auchintorlie; and, indeed, as we have seen, these signs or marks are found in widely different parts of the world, and belong to widely-separated periods.¹ They possessed a tribal or totemistic, if not a magical, significance. The remarkable resemblance between some of the Australian drawings and those from Cochno, even to the representation of a human foot, was pointed out by me in the Appendix to my former Paper,² to which I would refer, and the whole subject was there discussed.

Here, I will only add that the Australian will tell you that the various cups-and-rings and spirals³ represent different totems: the plum-tree, the grasshopper, the witchetty grub, etc.; and that the "foot" represents a footmark left by one of his Alcheringa ancestors in the "long ago."⁴ Is it wrong, then, to argue from analogy that the same marks had the same, or a similar, significance in Scotland, and everywhere else, that they bear in Australia?

Doubtless the people of the Clyde district, even at the time when they thus adorned the rocks upon their hill-

¹ See *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers*, by Franz Keller, 1875, p. 66; and *Prehistoric Phases*, by Hodder M. Westropp, 1872, pp. 176-196, for an early discussion of the subject.

² *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., p. 184, App. C. These "foot-marks" are also found in Brittany. Two, apparently occurring as a pair, as in Scotland and in Australia, are figured in *Prehistoric Scotland*, Plate IV, fig. 19. These are on a stone in the dolmen of Petit Mont (Arzon), and are about $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long.

A footmark, known as the "footprint of Buddha," containing cup-and ring-marks, combined with the Fylfot and Futhorc, is figured and described by Dr. Colley March in an article on the "Fylfot" in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1886.

³ "In Australia there is good ground for believing that the concentric circle pattern is later than and developed from an original spiral."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

"In this country the spiral seems to be later than the circle.—Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁴ This depends, however, upon the *locality*. In certain places the drawings have "no meaning," but in others they have the meanings described. "The latter is always on what we may call sacred ground, near to which the women may not come."—Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

sides, were more advanced in many essential respects than the Australian native to-day ; but may not their mental and religious development have been at about the same stage ? At any rate, it is a fact that tribal relationships are reckoned among the Australians on the female¹ not on the male side : *i.e.*, a man belongs to his mother's totem and to her branch of the tribe, not to his father's,² for his father may be quite uncertain. As Mr. McLennan puts it : "Maternity is a matter of fact, paternity a matter of opinion."

The same thing held good among the early Hebrews when they were in the totemistic stage, and indeed is true of every race in that stage.³ This is the meaning of Cæsar's much misunderstood statement about the Britons of his day, in which he has been supposed to describe "polyandry."⁴ Now, it is very curious that the same thing is distinctly recorded of the *Picts*, by Bede and other early historians, though the reason of it is sadly perverted. Bede says : "The Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them on any other terms than that, when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male ; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day."⁵

Professor Rhys holds, on the grounds stated in the passage referred to in the previous note, that the Picts represent the Neolithic strain, mingled probably with that of their Goidelic conquerors, among the Scottish

¹ In the Arunta tribe descent follows the male line ; but descent in the female line is the rule with the other tribes, and is most consonant with usual totemistic practice.

² This is the custom known as "*Mutterrecht*."

³ We find it among the North American Indians, and the custom is still extant in China and India. — See A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 115, 261 ; McLennan, *Studies in Ancient Society*, pp. 74-82 ; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *Journal of Philology*, No. 17 (vol. ix, 1880) ; Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 64 *seq.* ; Spencer and Gillen, *passim*.

⁴ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, Lib. v, chap. xiv.

⁵ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. i, chap. i. See Rhys, *The Welsh People*, pp. 36-74, where "the Pictish Question" is thoroughly discussed.

peoples; my suggestion, therefore, is that these rock-drawings are the work of the Picts,¹ and that they were in the totemistic stage of society when they executed them: whether this was still in full vigour, or only existed as a survival, as in Cæsar's day and Bede's, of course is indeterminable.

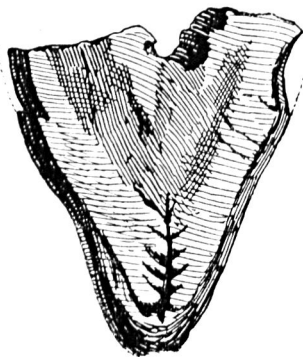
That no suspicion of forgery can be entertained here, I may add, what I have already pointed out elsewhere, that these Scottish rock-drawings were described and drawn in 1895; and that, further, some of them were known and described ten years ago; their Australian counterparts were not known before 1899.

We come now to another class of objects, such as figurines made of cannel coal; slate and shale spear-heads, ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and incised lines; oyster-shells, ornamented in the same way; and curious oblong stones, also similarly adorned. These were all found in the now famous Dumbuck pile-dwelling in the near neighbourhood of Dumbaie; and some of the oblong ornamented stones were also found at Dumbaie. These latter are now in the Edinburgh Museum. All of them have been pronounced forgeries, and as "having no place in any known stage of prehistoric Scottish civilisation." This was stated once more at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in London, on June 13th, 1901.

Along with these were found a variety of objects, which are admitted to be genuine.

Now, is this the last word on the subject? I think not. As I said before, the *onus probandi* lies upon those who pronounce them forgeries. Let them produce the forger. Meanwhile, let us, for the sake of argument, treat them as genuine. Are they, in that case, as is implied, altogether unique and peculiar? Here again I answer in the negative.

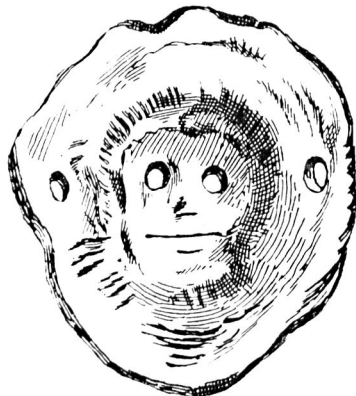
¹ The reason why I insist on this point is, that though we find these rock-drawings in Celtic districts, yet they are characteristic of a pre-Celtic stage of culture. All the world over these rock-drawings are, as stated above, the work of peoples in the Neolithic stage, not in that of Bronze or Iron. Might not the name "Picti" be due to the fact that these people "adorned," not only their own bodies, but the rocks among which they dwelt, and the articles which they used? That they were "artists," in fact.



1. Found by Edward Shippen, digger. Shale image from the Dumbuck Crannog Causeway, found broken in two; a lengthened search had to be made for one of the portions.



2. Found in the Crannog "well" by John Shannon, of Perthshire.



3. The oyster-shell from Dumbuck Hill Fort, excavated from crevice in the living rock, over which tons of debris had rested. When taken out, the incrustations of dirt prevented any carving from being seen; it was only after being dried and cleaned that the "face" appeared, as well as the suspension holes on each side.



4. Found by Rev. George Lamb, of Old Kilpatrick. The smallest of all the shale images: found broken.

The above give a faithful record of these very quaint "images," found in the Crannog and at Dumbuck Hill Fort, and are drawn by Mr. W. A. Donnelly.

Fig. 2. Figurines from Dumbuck, and Incised Oyster-Shell from Dumbuck.

First let us take the figurines. These have been exhibited in many places; here I show some absolutely correct drawings of them—because much childish ridicule has been poured upon certain other drawings which appeared in the *Journal* of this Association, and which were certainly rough, but sufficiently accurate. To these I would also refer.¹

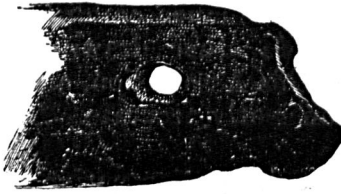
Now, as is well known, the Australian native was not advanced enough to make even any such rude figures—but similar ones, large and small, are to be found on every hand, among savage peoples of to-day, in a slightly more advanced condition. References are superfluous, but they can be given in abundance; indeed, it has been suggested that these particular figurines were intended for the West African market, and were dropped here instead.

In that case, however, the ingenuity of the forger, not only in making the things, but in placing them in the position where they would be most likely to be met with, if genuine, is one of the most remarkable circumstances about the matter.

But are these figurines unique as products of prehistoric times in Europe? I show here some drawings, out of many, of precisely similar figures, two of which are undoubted relics of the Neolithic Age among the Finns;² the other three are later, but of similar type; these are the more interesting from the affinity which I have shown to exist between the Finns and the Neolithic population of these islands. This is what is said on the subject by the Hon. John Abercromby, in his book on *The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, to which I would refer every student of folk-lore, anthropology, and prehistoric archæo-

¹ "Enough to make a cat laugh," is the elegant phrase used in *The Reliquary*, April 1901, p. 144. I also exhibited, when this Paper was read, Mr. Donnelly's original sketches (cf. *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iv, New Ser., pp. 366-370; and see *History of Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 318 seq.; *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, March 9th and April 13th, 1896, and *Report* of the Helensburgh Antiquarian Society for 1896).

² The ancient Finns were spread all over Central and Northern Russia, as well as in the country now known as Finland.



1.—Muzzle of a Dog or Bear, from Ladoga.



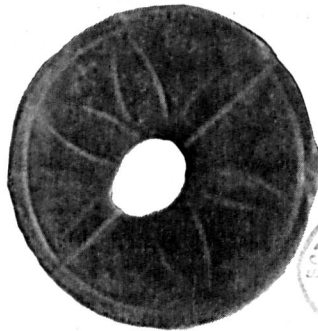
2.—Human Silhouette in Flint, from Volósovo.



3.—Two Human Figures in Bronze.



4.—Head and Shoulders of a Bear.



5.—Circular Bronze Disc, with Incised Ornaments.



Fig. 3.—Figurines and Amulets belonging to the Finns of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. From *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by the Hon. Jn. Abercromby. Lent by Mr. David Nutt and Co.

logy. He is, describing the Neolithic Age in Finland, as it is exhibited by the "finds" discovered in burial-places belonging to that age; and, after speaking of the weapons—chiefly flint arrow-heads of beautiful finish, and implements, axes, hammers, saws, etc., and very rude pottery—he goes on to mention various figurines of men and animals, which are similar to those found in Scotland at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, as follows: "Some of the carved work on the shore of Lake Ladoga is specially deserving of notice, as it may be supposed to possess a distinct ethnological value. One piece represents what is supposed to be the silhouette of a seal carved in bone, with short strokes on the surface to represent the fur. The *eye* is formed by a hole of suspension, and the plaque may have been worn as an amulet to bring luck to the wearer." Another represents a dog, and another was recognised by Dr. Tischler as "the figure of a man, without a shadow of doubt." "He considered these Ladogan carvings as belonging to the same category as the sculptured figures in bone and amber from East Russia and Galicia, and regarded them as the beginning of plastic art in the north and east of Europe. The main likeness consists in this: that the human figures in both regions have a hole of suspension under each *armpit*."¹ At Kolomtsi "one piece of bone was carved into the head of a bird; another represented the head of a man, with a pointed chin, a very long nose, and a head-dress in shape like a fez." He then continues: "Of particular interest are silhouettes of men, birds, and animals, chipped out of a piece of flint. The practice of chipping flattish pieces of flint into something approaching an animal shape is not confined to one locality. It is found in the Valley of the Oka, far to the north, near the White Sea, etc., in the province of Kazan, which shows a fairly wide distribution." He proceeds: "As it is difficult to believe that Neolithic man, in a low state of civilisation, when it is not certain that even the dog was domesticated, should take the trouble to hew out of flint and bone

¹ The *italics* are mine. In the Dumbuck examples the hole for suspension is formed by the *mouth*.

representations of men and animals merely to satisfy his artistic and creative instincts and faculties: some other reason must be sought for. It is more consonant with the extreme laziness of uncivilised man to suppose that he had a practical object in view; that the human and animal figures served as household gods, or as personal amulets to secure luck when fishing or hunting."¹

Secondly, as regards the slate and shale spear-heads, and oyster-shells ornamented with cup-and-ring markings, and diverging lines, less need be said. The spear-heads were never, probably, intended for war or hunting; but, taking into consideration the ornamentation, which is the same as that on the other objects and on the rocks, and bearing in mind what has been said as to these latter, they all fall into line as having had a magical or (if we choose to say so) a religious significance, and were objects used in the ritual of worship.² I think this is more likely than that these had a tribal or totemistic meaning, though the variety of ornamentation may imply that different objects belonged to the magic rites of different tribes or totem clans. As regards the material, it was close at hand and useful for the purpose; and I find slate or shale employed in Finland, as well as in Norway, in Ireland, and elsewhere.³

¹ *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, by Hon. J. Abercromby; vol. i, pp. 63, 65, 71, 72. This exactly bears out the suggestion I made in my previous Paper, already referred to, and which I would reiterate here. A large number of similar figurines or "idols" are described and illustrated in M. Hoernes' *Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa*, to which I would here refer. They belong to the Neolithic Age, and are from all parts of Europe.

² The spear-heads, with their ornamentation of "cup-and-ring" lines, etc., may indeed have been themselves also of the nature of "Churinga." See below.

³ Evidence as to the use of slate in Neolithic times is accumulating on all hands. For example, (1) the following letter which I received from Mr. Mallett, the discoverer of the Neolithic cemetery in Cornwall, described in the present volume of the *Journal*, pp. 90-92, and which I have his permission to reproduce here, speaks for itself.

The slate implements found at Padstow belong to the Neolithic Age; and, while the majority may have been, and probably were, intended

Curiously enough, the discovery of the drawing of a boat with three rowers, surmounted with two crescents,

for actual use, one, at any rate, is similar to those found at Dumbuck, in being ornamented with incised lines.

"Harlyn Bay, near Padstow, N. Cornwall,

"July 25th, 1901.

"DEAR SIR,—Mrs. H. Pears (of Malvern Link) has asked me to write to you respecting my growing collection of slate implements, found on the site of the prehistoric settlement from which this letter is indited.

"I have already classified more than two hundred 'worked' pieces of slate, comprising fighting weapons (hand-to-hand slate daggers): knives, prickers (double-pointed), spear-heads, arrow-heads, axes, scrapers and needles, all found at the level at which the ancient workmen lived.

"In your Newcastle lecture you referred to *incised* implements. One found here (a slate double-pointed pricker, of about 6 in. in length) has seven distinct parallel lines marked at one of the points, thus—



Some scientists, though the minority, still maintain that these pieces of slate have been fashioned by the action of the wind and sand, but my excavations go to prove that—

"(1) The remains have not been weather-worn, for countless pieces of rubble, found side by side with the implements, display no traces of 'weather'.

"(2) 'Weather' tends to blunt edges and round points, whereas the implements have keen edges and sharp points, capable, to-day, of pricking and cutting with as much ease as when used thousands of years ago.

"(3) The relics are found at a depth of from 6 ft., 12 ft., to 16 ft. below the surface of to-day, between two distinct sand strata.

"(4) Slate is indigenous, flint is not; though flints are found in and about the cists, *worked*, in most cases.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"REDDIE MALLET.

"P.S.—A visitor recently told me that he possessed a *slate* axe, identical in shape with one of mine, brought from New Zealand, and made by a Maori—an argument for the theory of *universality of ideas*." See also *Harlyn Bay, and the Discovery of its Prehistoric Remains*, by R. Aslington Bullen, F.G.S.

(2) The following letter is also of interest. Observe the important statements with regard to Slate Implements.

"Henbury, Bristol,

"June 5th, 1901.

"DEAR SIR,— For many years I have been collecting the Stone Implements which are turned up by the plough. I used formerly to despise the pieces of slate I often noticed on the surface of the land. I thought they were modern, and brought probably with manure in the course of dressing the land. But one day, a few years ago, I thought such an explanation of their origin as not reasonable or probable, so determined on the next occasion to examine the fragments of slate I came across in my researches, and at once discovered that these fragments were implements, many displaying notches for hafting. Briefly, flint and slate were the two materials in most common use in Neolithic times, slate the most common.

"I remain, yours faithfully,

"SPENCER GEO. PERCEVAL."

(3) A considerable number of slate implements have been recently



and a cup-and-ring-marking on a perforated pebble, figured in Mr. Bruce's Paper on Dumbuie, is very similar to some of those on the rock-carvings figured by Dr. Montelius from the Bronze Age in Sweden. I will return to this presently.

It only remains for us to notice the "oblong stones," which are also, all of them, ornamented in a similar fashion to the objects already mentioned.¹

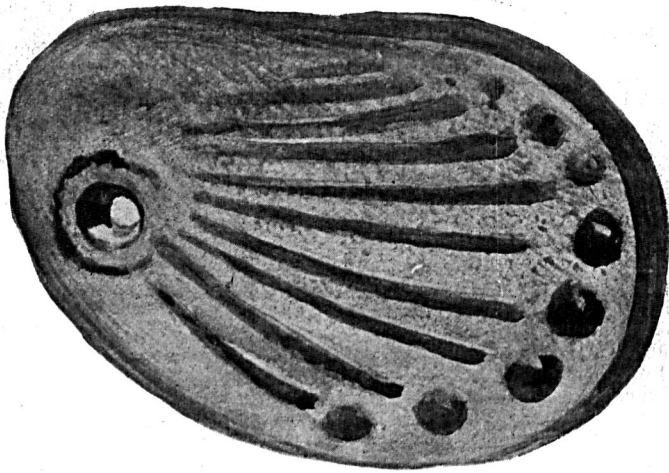


Fig. 4.—Illustration of *Churinga* from Dumbuie.

Here we go again to Australia, and we find precisely similar objects, having a definite place in the religious system of the natives, and used in the same locality where the rock-drawings are found. The moment I had an opportunity of studying Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's book, and of comparing these objects with the "*Churinga*" figured and described in that book, the idea occurred to

found by Mr. Jas. Neilson, of Glasgow, at Irvine, in Ayrshire; and

(4) Some very fine and unmistakeable slate implements have been quite lately discovered by Mr. A. Selley, of Bristol, in a Neolithic settlement near Trevoze Head, North Cornwall.

¹ I give an illustration of one from Dumbuie here; others are figured in my previous Paper, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 164-188, figs. 18, 20.

me that here was the solution of the whole difficulty; that in those Australian amulets with their living, present-day meaning might be found the explanation of these hitherto unknown and apparently inexplicable objects found at Dumbaie and Dumbuck; and that it would be more scientific to accept this explanation, than

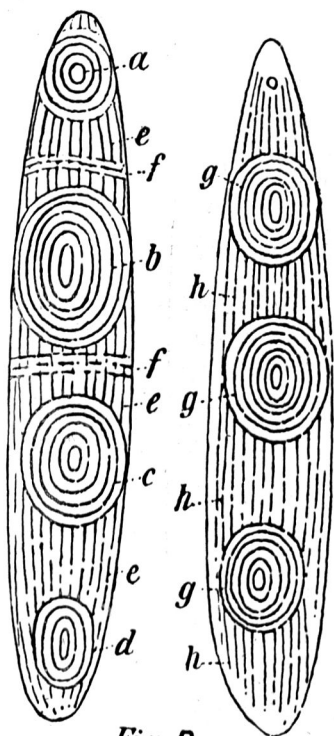


Fig. B.

Churinga of the Arunta Tribe, Central Australia.

Fig. B.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Honey-Ant Totem.



Fig. E.

Fig. E.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Plum-Tree Totem.

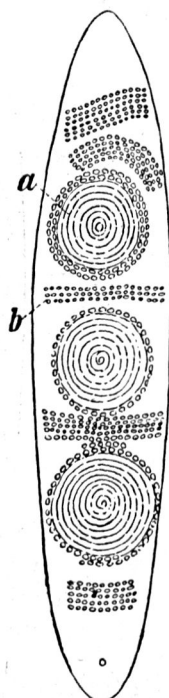


Fig. E.

For full description, see Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 149.

airily to dismiss the subject by saying, "No place can be found for them in prehistoric Scotland."

Accordingly, the whole subject was fully discussed and explained in the Appendix to my Paper, read at Buxton in 1899, and published in 1900. To that Paper I would, therefore, again refer, and only add here that I am more than ever convinced that the arguments adduced by me

then, and by Mr. Lang at about the same time, and each independently of the other, are incontrovertible.¹

A curious custom, illustrating the use of stone implements for magical purposes, is referred to by Mr. Cato

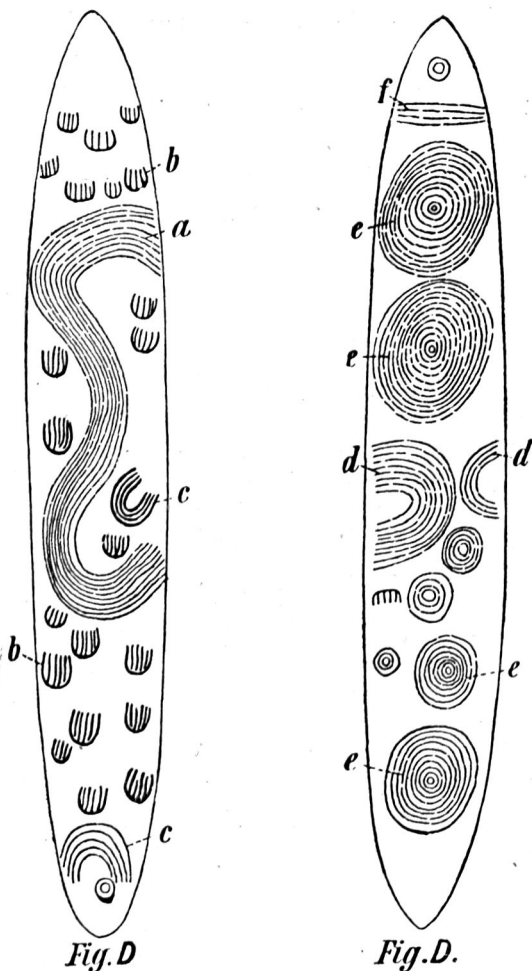


Fig. D.—*Churinga Nangi* of the Witchetty Grub Totem.

Worsfold, in his book on *The French Stonehenge*, recently published. This consists in the fact that in the Morbihan

¹ *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. vi, N. S., pp. 182-184.

district of France stone axes are often found in the chimneys of dwellings unearthed. This was done to preserve them from being struck by lightning, and the Breton name for them is *Men Gurun*, or "Thunder Stones." "In connection with this custom," says Mr. Worsfold, "the learned Dr. G. le Closmadeuc, in a communication to the Société Polymatique du Morbihan, in 1873, writes thus:—'Dans la religion des Armoricaains primitifs' (*i.e.*, pre-Celtic) 'qui ont construit nos dolmens du Morbihan le Celtoe en pierre ou mengurun etait purement et simplement un objet sacré, qu'on deposait dans le tombeau à coté du mort. Simulacre ou sorte d'idole à laquelle on rendait un culte, et qui se presente à nous avec sa signification eminemment religieuse de divinité tutelaire'."

It will be observed that in this Paper I have avoided controversy, and have rather preferred to bring forward positive evidence that the magical and religious ideas of our prehistoric and non-Celtic ancestors in these islands, as witnessed by the "finds" at Dumbuck, Dumbaie, and elsewhere, fall into line with those of the Neolithic people of Europe, and may be explained by a comparison with the ideas of modern savage races in Australia, America, West Africa, and other parts of the world. This being so, it goes to prove that, apart from positive evidence to the contrary, the "finds" are genuine, and that a place can be found for them in a definite period of Scottish prehistoric civilisation; this place, as I stated in my previous Paper, already referred to, is at a time when the inhabitants of the Clyde district were still in the Neolithic stage of culture, and were still ornamenting the rocks in the neighbourhood with signs distinctive of totem-relationship, and were also still employing objects significative of definite magical and religious ideas, as charms and amulets, and for the purposes of incantation and ritual; though, to judge from the pile-structures in which they were found, from the canoe, and from the holed pebble adorned with the representation of a boat, they had already received a tincture of Bronze Age culture. This may, very probably, have been at a rela-

tively late period, and one not far removed from the time of the Roman dominion.¹

This, again, would also explain the finding of a quern among the relics, along with other grinding rollers and pebbles of undoubted Neolithic workmanship.

My reply to the statements made, and the arguments adduced, in a recent Paper in *The Reliquary*, April, 1901, is to be found in the Appendix to this Paper.

I would only say here that my opponent, while concentrating all his energy and all his undoubted ability upon the arguments which concern himself personally, carefully avoids all reference to the positive arguments as to the rock-drawings, the *Churinga*, etc., which I brought forward more particularly in the Appendix to my former Paper, and which I have endeavoured more carefully to enlarge upon and develop in the present one.

One further remark only would I make, and I would

¹ In a letter to Mr. Bruce, of April 29th, 1901, Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, after a painstaking investigation and discussion of the "finds" at Dumbuck and Dumbaie, arrives at the following conclusions:—

- (1) The relics are genuine.
- (2) They are peculiar.
- (3) They are Neolithic; i.e., they contain genuine implements of stone and horn, two of which resemble definite patterns of universal use.
- (4) They separate themselves from the ordinary Neolithic relics.
- (5) Being probably later.
- (6) Imitations of the human figure suggest Scandinavian rock-sculpture, and probably a late age.
- (7) Other representations suggest Roman influence, and are not unlike in artistic weakness to the imitations of Greek and Roman coins by the Celts of Southern Britain. In the "holed pebble" (see p. 246), particularly, Mr. Bell sees traces of the Roman influence. He says: "The rowers are not unlike the galley in a coin of Allectus, and the Open Hand is a common device of the coinage of Rome. The moon or star might be suggested by the *Julium Sidus*."

These conclusions are most interesting, for they are those of an independent student, and agree in the main with my own. The chief difference is that Mr. Bell sees traces of Roman influence which escaped me, and would therefore assign them to a period after the natives had come into contact with the Romans.

He may, very probably, be correct; but in the main contention he is at one with me: that these relics are the work of a people still in the Neolithic stage of culture, who had received a tincture of Bronze Age (and Roman) civilisation.

ask him to believe that it is not meant unkindly, viz., this. He would appear to have practically staked his scientific reputation upon the fact that these "finds" are not genuine: without, however, bringing forward one shred of evidence to prove them "forgeries."

Whereas it would not make one particle of difference to the position maintained by myself and others if they were *proved* "forgeries" to-morrow: as I said above, one link only in the chain of evidence would be removed, but the chain itself would be as strong as ever. Meanwhile, and until the proof of forgery is forthcoming, I still contend that the position maintained in this Paper "holds the field."¹

APPENDIX.

My reply to Dr. Munro's criticism in *The Reliquary* for April, 1901, of the arguments contained in my Paper in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association for June, 1900, pp. 164-188, shall be brief; and, in replying, I will keep to the order of the arguments as they appear in the Paper.

(1) Dr. Munro says that he never used the word "forgeries." This is no doubt true; but, in speaking as he did in the *Glasgow Herald* and elsewhere of other articles as "the genuine finds," and in *Prehistoric Scotland* of some of the finds as genuine, he implied that the others were not genuine, and, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. There is no escape from this dilemma. When I used the words, "that all the finds are forgeries," I was alluding only to those under consideration, viz., the figurines or amulets of Cannel

¹ On the whole subject covered by this Paper the student may consult with advantage the monumental work of Dr. M. Hoernes, entitled, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Christ: Zweites Buch:—Die Kunst im Zeitalter der jüngeren Wirthschaftsstufen: Animismus, Mutterrecht und Muttercult, Totemismus, Idolatrie*, pp. 79-117; *Drittes Buch:—Die Plastik der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Der Norden und der Osten*, pp. 249-257; and *Viertes Buch:—Die Zeichnung der jüngeren Steinzeit und der Bronzezeit: Felsenzeichnungen (c)*, pp. 374-382. The book only came into my hands after this Paper was written, and it is impossible, within its limits, to quote even extracts; but these passages will be found to bear out the views herein independently expressed in regard to the development of the religious idea, and the art of the Neolithic Age. The whole book is a remarkable example of the thoroughness of German scholarship.

coal, the inscribed stones and shells, and the slate weapons, all of which Dr. Munro includes among those for which "no place can be found in any known phase of Scottish civilisation." Dr. Munro's words are: "Among the genuine relics found at Dumbuck may be mentioned portions of deer-horn sawn across, a quern, some pointed implements of bone, like those found in the Lochlee Crannog, and illustrated by fig. 79 in "Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings," and a few polishers of stone: all of which unmistakeably indicate the mediæval character of this curious structure. The shale and slate images and weapons, the perforated stone pendants, oyster-shells, and other objects, ornamented with cup-marks, concentric circles, etc., would be as much out of place as surviving remnants of the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland in Romano-British times as they are now."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 441. In writing thus, Dr. Munro virtually claims to know all that can be known about the prehistoric civilisation of Scotland! But things are not of necessity "not genuine" because he has been hitherto unaware of them; or does he claim to have fathomed the ultimate depths of knowledge, or spanned its furthest heights?

Dr. Munro now says: "I never used the word *forgery* as applicable to any of the relics from the Dumbuck Crannog, but I have characterised some of the objects as not genuine relics of the people who inhabited it. Mr. Astley and others hold that, if not genuine, they must be forgeries. Well, so be it." As to the words "all" and "some," I have replied above.

Further on, Dr. Munro says: "As an objector to the validity of my argument, the *onus probandi* that the quern was known in the Stone Age falls on my opponent." This I reply to below; here I would say, once for all, what I have insisted on throughout the preceding Paper, viz., "As an objector to the validity of the curious and hitherto unknown objects found at Dumbuck, the *onus probandi* that 'they are not genuine relics of the peoples who inhabited it,' falls on my opponent." I would also remind him that the discoveries of Palæolithic weapons even, as a class, were at first similarly scouted by those who were prejudiced by "pre-Baconian" rubrics.

If these things are not genuine finds, *i.e.*, are forgeries, it is surely incumbent upon him to prove it. It is not incumbent upon those who hold that Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Bruce, F.S.A.Scot.,¹ etc., are reporting what they have found, to prove that these things are *not* forgeries. Surely, then, the more scientific plan is to take the finds as genuine until they have been conclusively proved to be the contrary, and to endeavour to fit them into their place in the life-history of man in Scotland. This is what is attempted in the Paper

¹ Mr. Bruce, in a letter to the author, of August 29th, 1901, says: "I cannot conceive what has caused Dr. Munro to take up the attitude he has. Everything we have found is genuine."

under discussion and in the present one, and even should these particular "finds" be subsequently PROVED to be forgeries, the arguments as to the general similarity of the stage of culture of man in the Neolithic Age in Europe, and the modern Australian and other savage races will still hold good, from the finds made in other localities, and from the universality of the cup-and-ring markings on the rocks.

(2) Dr. Munro holds that the finding of a so-called quern at Dumbuck of necessity rules it out of the Neolithic period. As a matter of fact, the other grain-crushers found there are of the mortar and roller-pestle shape, familiarised to us by discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere, and characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture. Only one article that could be called a "quern" was found, and I have suggested that that *may* have come there in later times. But, we may ask, why should this "quern" be accounted a 'genuine' "find" by Dr. Munro, when so many other things are held by him to be "not genuine"? The reason is not far to seek.

(3) We now come to the crucial point over which Dr. Munro spends the largest amount of space, and becomes forgetful of those amenities which surely ought to mark scientific discussion.

When the subject first came before the public, Dr. Munro's Paper in the *Archæological Journal*, Dec. 1898, on the rise of the land on the western and south-western coasts of Scotland (corresponding to a depression in the coasts of England at about the same period) had been recently published. In this he very strongly propounded his theory of the "25-ft. raised beach," and pointed to the present level of the MacArthur Cave at Oban, and to other localities, in proof that when man dwelt there in Neolithic days the sea flowed in, whereas now they are 25 ft. or more above the sea-level.¹ Having read that article, it occurred to me that herein lay the *secret* of the Doctor's opposition to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck; and hence my remarks when Mr. Donnelly read his Paper before this Association, and my subsequent letter to the *Athenæum* referred to by Dr. Munro; and while we are on this point, may I add that I challenge anyone to read that article, and my induction from it, with an open mind, and say that the letter is unreasonable, much less a deliberate misrepresentation.

Dr. Munro's theory may not be so wide-reaching, nor cover so much ground as I gave it credit for; but that there was any "wilful" or "deliberate misrepresentation" I absolutely deny. When I came to write my Paper I realised that the *crux* of the matter lay in the words "subsequent to the appearance of man but prior to the Roman occupation;" and I rejoined that even on the truth of this 25-ft. raised beach theory, which I see no reason to doubt, Dumbuck might still be a Neolithic structure of a time not long prior to the Roman occupation. In my reply to Dr. Munro's

¹ See Note at end of Appendix.

letter to me of November 4th, 1900, I based my argument on his statements in *Prehistoric Scotland*, to show that they were substantially the same with those in his Paper in the *Archæological Journal*; but the book was published, as I state in the Appendix to my Paper, after that Paper was written, and has nothing whatever really to do with anything said therein. However, Dr. Munro now says that the "25-ft. raised beach" had nothing to do with his opposition to Dumbuck. Be it so; and I unreservedly accept his statement, and admit that I unintentionally misrepresented his views and the grounds of his opposition; but in that case he either admits that the theory does not extend to the basin of the Clyde, or else admits that the change of level took place at such a time subsequent to the appearance of man, but prior to the Roman occupation, as not to preclude the possibility of a Neolithic structure at the present level of the Clyde basin. This being the case, the Doctor's remarks in *Prehistoric Scotland* as to the probable position of a Neolithic structure in the Clyde are not to the point, as they premise more change than has taken place in the course of the last eighteen or nineteen centuries. As I have said before, it is not the date, but the stage of culture exemplified by Dumbuck, that is the important thing; and, in bearing this in mind, it must be remembered that not one particle of metal, nor one shred of pottery, even of the rudest kind, has been found there; and this must be taken in connection with the fact that the rock-markings in the neighbourhood, as well as those "finds" for which the Doctor can "find no place," have an unmistakeable similarity to the undoubted products, elsewhere, of the Neolithic stage of culture.

(4) Dr. Munro now declares that he does not deny the existence of crannogs and pile-dwellings of Neolithic construction in the British Isles "as a general proposition," notwithstanding the fact that both in *Lake-Dwellings* and elsewhere, as stated in my Paper, he maintains that they are an importation from the Continent by the Celtic races. Dr. Munro's words are:—"Taking all these circumstances into consideration (viz., those he has been considering), I repeat that, while we are justified in ascribing the remains of lake-dwellings [and in these he includes, by implication, marine and river structures], so far as they are at present known within the British Isles, to a Celtic source, I see no *prima facie* improbability against the hypothesis that the Celts derived their knowledge of this custom from the great system of Central Europe."—*Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 494.

And, again:—"All these remains [viz., those he has been describing] are compatible with the opinion that they must be assigned to the early Iron Age, rather than to an earlier date. The absence of metals counts for very little."—*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 424. And again, in *The Reliquary* article, p. 110, Dr. Munro asserts—and indeed the idea is carried out all through—"I do not

know of any crannog in Scotland that can be assigned to pre-Roman times."

But in *The Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 67, his book entitled *Ancient Scottish Lake-dwellings*, 1882, is reviewed, and he is *quoted or referred to* as saying that at Lochlee, "'hammer stones, heating stones, sling stones, stone anvil, whet stones, polished celts, *querns*, some *flint* implements, and spindle whorls, also bone and wood implements, a canoe, bronze and iron articles, were found all together. The evidence of the *Stone Age Man*, the *Bronze Age Man*, and the *Iron Age Man*, rests alongside of each other.' To the question, therefore," continues the reviewer, "as to the period of history to which these Scottish Lake Dwellings belong, Dr. Munro can only return a tentative answer. *He ascribes them to the early Celts, before the inroads of the Romans and English.* This appears to us to be a thoroughly legitimate conclusion to be derived from the evidence."

If this was not a fair inference, why did not Dr. Munro correct it at the time?

And how can he deny that some crannogs are pre-Roman, if he is correctly reviewed in ascribing Lochlee to "the early Celts before the inroads of the Romans"?

We will leave the Doctor to reconcile these conflicting statements as best he can.

Even supposing, however, that these statements were absolutely incontrovertible, instead of being mutually destructive, they neither of them preclude the possibility of the Dumbuck crannog being the work of a non-Celtic race, *i.e.*, probably of the Aborigines of Scotland, the Picts, ignorant of the use of metals, and with aboriginal superstitions still prevalent among them, at the date which I have suggested for it. They may have learnt how to build a crannog from their Goidelic neighbours. Moreover, the Doctor admits that such structures are to be found, belonging to the Neolithic period, though he endeavours to impugn the force of the evidence adduced by me, without seeing that this admission negatives both his previous propositions! Ballinderry he tries to rule out, but I cannot see why it may not have been continuously or intermittently occupied, like Lochlee, from the Late Stone down to the Iron Age.

I am quite willing to allow that he is right in his correction of my statement as to Gen. Pitt-Rivers' position in respect to the bone skates found in the Thames, in the neighbourhood of wooden piles. But, it being granted that pile-dwellings of the Neolithic Age are to be found in Britain, this correction does not prove that the Dumbuck structure cannot be of that age. To the evidence contained in my previous Paper (Appendix D), we may add the undoubted pile-dwellings in Wretham mere, near Thetford, Norfolk—not far from Brandon, in whose "Grimes' Graves" Canon

Greenwell found the abandoned tool of the Neolithic flint-worker *in situ*, and these pile-dwellings belong without reasonable doubt to the same age. Others might be mentioned, but enough has been said.¹

(5) Finally, Dr. Munro affirms, on the evidence of his own eyes and that of an eminent architect, that the Piles of Dumbuck have been undoubtedly fashioned with iron tools. On the other hand, it has been proved, as mentioned in my Paper, that every mark of cutting could have been made with equal nicety and finish by a stone tool. This being so, it is for the Doctor and his friends to *prove* that iron tools were employed, if they can: it being still borne in mind that no scrap of metal, bronze or iron, has been found in the locality.

Dr. Munro and his friends would, without doubt, have propounded an equally emphatic opinion—so universally accepted—that the tool-markings and the cutting of the mortice and tenon-joints at Stonehenge were “the result of sharp *metal* tools.” But now, as I write, even these colossal works in hard stone are proved to have been fashioned by the despised Neolithic axe. How simple, after this, was the sharpening of the Dumbuck piles; and yet it is on the theory of the impossibility of any such thing that Dr. Munro throws down his sheepskin and challenges “the final *coup* to the Neolithic theory of Dumbuck.” I accept the challenge—so may it be. Let the evidence now forthcoming of the higher stage of Neolithic culture, as disclosed at the great monument, be the “*coup*” to my contention of the origin of the ornaments and work at Dumbuck, or to the pre-Baconian theories of all those who would deprive the Neolithic race of even the very rudiments of ornament, art, or hewn architecture.

There remain one or two minor points which may be briefly referred to.

On p. 109 Dr. Munro denies that his opinion was “a hasty judgment”; but, on p. 110, incidentally mentions that he visited the crannog on October 12th, 1898, and communicated his opinion “openly expressed in writing,” *on the following day!*

Page 112. Dr. Munro objects to my “generalisation” as to the *flora* contemporary with Palæolithic Man. Mr. A. M. Bell, F.G.S., Oxford, however, says in the letter of April 29th, 1901, referred to above: “It may interest you to know that I am now engaged in sifting some evidence of the *Flora* and *Coleopterous Fauna* contem-

¹ By a curious coincidence, the very same number of *The Reliquary*, April 1901, which contains Dr. Munro's Paper, also contains the account of the discovery by the Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, Vicar of Braintree, Essex, in the brick-earth of the district, of lacustrine remains, “which in their way are quite as important as the recent discovery of similar remains near Glastonbury.” Mr. Kenworthy divides the brick-earth into five layers, of which No. 2 is labelled “Neolithic” (?). In this layer wooden piles were found, which point to the probability of the settlement having been a Lake-habitation in that age.—*The Reliquary*, April 1901, pp. 121-123.

porary with Palæolithic Man in this Thames Valley. One of the trees was a *pine*, probably the *Scotch fir* of our own Highlands."

Page 113. Dr. Munro asserts that the "ornaments of jet, amber, and bone" mentioned by me, "can be definitely assigned to the ages of Bronze and Iron." This cannot be the case. The only ornaments of jet found by Bateman (*Ten Years' Diggings*) comprised specimens from about fifteen different interments, and all, with one exception (bronze), were in connection with flint relics alone. In one case, two sandstones, *with cavities worked in them*, were found. Jet-rings, too, were found of the Neolithic period.

Bateman also shows jet beads and bone "draughts," clearly Neolithic, adorned with cup-and-ring-marks, from Derbyshire.¹

In conclusion, if the Dumbuck crannog and the relics from Dumbuie do not belong to the Stone Age, they must belong to the Age of Bronze or Iron. Accordingly, I challenge Dr. Munro to find something of bronze and iron there, and then controvert the stone and other relics which have been found.

Can we imagine that a crannog, or pile-structure of the Iron Age, or, to use Dr. Munro's phrase, "mediaeval," would only contain stone relics? The later the relics, usually, the more abundant they are, because they were probably there when the place was flooded or deserted. Again, why is there no vestige of pottery, not even of the rude kind of which the Stone Age was capable, to say nothing of later (or mediaeval) examples?

Here I will take leave of Dr. Munro. I regret that he should have thought it necessary to import personalities into the discussion, and if I unwittingly misrepresented him, or his views, on any point, I equally regret that.

As matters stand, and until conclusive proof of forgery has been discovered, or until the use of metal tools has been proved to demonstration, it seems to me that those have the most regard for the teachings of inductive science, and the most logic on their side, who take the facts as they find them, and try to fit them into their true place in some, it may be, hitherto unknown, but none the less real, "phase of prehistoric Scottish civilisation."

For myself I have no *parti pris*, no theory whatever. All I have endeavoured to do is to marshal the facts and let them tell their own tale.

NOTE to p. 253.—Mr. James Neilson, of Glasgow, however, writes thus as regards the MacArthur Cave: "*Re* the Oban bone-cave. It is ridiculous to say men dwelt in there when the sea flowed in. How could they? It must have been dry, *i.e.*, at its present level. I saw the 'finds' out of the Oban cave. The antiquaries wrote of a 'shell-bed': now this term is only rightly used for a naturally deposited bed, while this was a rubbish heap, a sort of kitchen midden. The shells, too, were of recent type."

¹ Cf. p. 236, note 1, lines 8-11.